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too little light is thrown on essential facts, and too much on trivialities. His standard of accuracy is high, however, and he raises considerable hopes that the ensuing volumes may shed valuable light on the campaigns of the empire.

R. M. JOHNSTON.

Le Chartisme, 1830-1848. Par ÉDOUARD DOLLÉANS. In two volumes. (Paris: H. Floury. 1912-1913. Pp. 426; 501.)

THIS is an important book marred by one inexcusable fault; it has neither foot-notes nor bibliography. Particularly inexcusable is this failing in a book which deals in the minute factual knowledge of a field hitherto largely unexplored, and one which the student of social and economic history justly regards as exceedingly fertile and promising. And the real pity of the thing but becomes the more prominent as the genuine merits of the books are disclosed.

Mr. Dolléans has succeeded admirably in analyzing the economic misery in which Chartism found its rootage; the sudden shifting in employment brought about by machinery, the death-struggle of the domestic industries, the introduction of child and female labor, the violent fluctuation in wages and employment—these corollaries of the Industrial Revolution are more clearly and succinctly stated than in any book yet published. Mr. Dolléans has also, with all the epigrammatic wit and clarity of expression which characterize so many of the modern French historians, played his search-light on the rock-bottom explanation of the Chartist movement and of the Chartist failure. He relates, in full detail, the address of one Richard Pilling, a strike leader, before a jury, in which Pilling tells in simplest terms the bitter fight of one man against poverty, the old story of impossible hours, diminishing income, uncertain employment—and the vain attempt of a local strike against the manufacturer. This man, says Dolléans, “représente, mieux qu’ aucun autre, l’ouvrier chartiste, parce qu’ il reste dans sa simplicité malgré ses opinions politiques plus ouvrier que chartiste”. The efforts of the Chartists to get men of this condition in life interested in the Chartist movement are narrated with fullness. The story is vividly told of the competition met with here between Owenite, trade-unionist, and free-trader; and against the latter Mr. Dolléans launches justly his greatest scorn, the encounter between O’Connor and Cobden at Northampton, which he describes, being particularly significant and enlightening to us of the present.

But within the Chartist ranks there are very serious dissensions: the three leaders, Lovett, Bronterre O’Brien, and O’Connor are at loggerheads, divided not only upon tactics, but upon fundamental principles. The sympathies of Mr. Dolléans are decidedly with O’Connor and the physical force Chartists. He satirically refers to Lovett as “consecrating himself to popular education and school books for children”, and

holds that his willingness to compromise with the middle classes, as evinced by his attitude toward the free-traders and the non-conformist interests, was detrimental to the Chartist cause. Bronterre O'Brien also is attacked. He is scornfully called "a schoolmaster" and "a man of theory", although certainly it must be conceded that O'Brien's idea of land nationalization was more practical than O'Connor's land-bank scheme. Between O'Brien and O'Connor there was much bad blood and Mr. Dolléans, on the face of the evidence, seems over-anxious to champion the latter. O'Brien's objections to a permanent convention were assuredly not without reason, and his refusal to take part in the last great Chartist demonstration is at least made in manly fashion. This book does not do him justice.

There are a few minor errors of fact in *Le Chartisme*, such as the statement (I. 167) that Richard Oastler had made and lost a large fortune. More serious is the omission of certain discussions that one expects to find in such an elaborate piece of scholarship, as for instance: the relations of the Chartists with Alexander Carlyle and the other very considerable group of British free-thinkers the radicalism of whose ideas certainly extended to political and economic matters; the relations of the Chartists to the British republicans, of whose publication and propaganda there is no mention in this book. One would also like to know more of Ernest Jones, the Chartist poet, and the substitution of some of his stirring verse for the long harangues of O'Connor would have been profitable. But more serious than this is the suspicion that Mr. Dolléans has trusted far too confidently to the columns of the *North Star*, O'Connor's organ. The *North Star* is the one great source constantly mentioned in the body of the narrative—and the *North Star* was a very biassed sheet. But without foot-notes how can we be very sure just what Mr. Dolléans's sources have been?

Yet, in the last analysis, this book is exceedingly valuable. It brings to light many interesting if not hitherto unknown facts among which may be put: the intimate relation of the Chartist movement to the international radicalism of 1848, and also the abortive but none the less significant attempt to include woman suffrage as an integral part of the Chartist propaganda. Furthermore, Mr. Dolléans has beautifully and clearly demonstrated that Chartism was essentially an economic not a political agitation.

WALTER P. HALL.

Historisch-Politische Aufsätze und Reden. Von HERMANN ONCKEN. In two volumes. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1914. Pp. vi, 344; ii, 382.)

FEW recent volumes by German historians possess the interest for students of contemporary history that these two volumes of essays and speeches have. The greater part of the first volume is directly related